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CONFIDENTIAL

11-7516

10 September 1959

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The Honorable Hugh S. Cumming, Jr.
Director of Intelligence and Research
Department of State
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Hugh:

I enclose a memorandum together with a summary of the Soviet press, radio and TV coverage of the Vice President's visit to the USSR.

Undoubtedly you have prepared something similar and I should be interested to have State's views and any comments you have on the attached memorandum, particularly if you have a different view as to the extent and nature of the coverage.

Copies of the memorandum and summary have also been sent to George Allen for USIA's views and comments.

Sincerely,

SIGNED

Allen W. Dulles
Director

Enclosure

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September 1959

Comparative Summary of Soviet Coverage of the Vice President's Visit

1. Coverage of the Vice President's trip by Pravda and Izvestia was fairly extensive, but a sizeable proportion was given to rebuttal to Nixon's remarks. Total coverage by each was about half that given to the Mikoyan visit by the New York Times. Pravda and Izvestia provided the texts of Nixon's arrival and exhibition-opening speeches, Izvestia alone the television address, and Pravda alone the farewell speech. All other statements were scantily and nonobjectively summarized.

2. Regional press coverage of the trip throughout the USSR was meager. Of a wide selection of newspapers surveyed, none published any verbatim texts or even extensive quotations from Nixon's public statements. This was in striking contrast to the attention accorded to the Mikoyan and Kozlov trips in American newspapers. Soviet regional papers at most devoted one-tenth as much space to the Nixon trip. A comparison of coverage in cities visited -- the example selected for close study was Leningrad for the Nixon visit and Detroit for both Mikoyan and Kozlov -- showed in every case at least four times, and usually much more, space given by each of the US newspapers. In the case of large, comparable cities not visited -- Tashkent and St. Louis -- the difference was substantially greater, with the St. Louis Dispatch giving over 20 times the space given by Pravda Vostoka.

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3. Radio Moscow carried the Vice President's arrival, departure, and exhibition speeches (the last only in English) and summaries of some other statements. The summaries broadcast, like the TASS news service accounts, omitted various statements praising the US way of life and implying criticism of certain Soviet policies. For example, the "Kitchen Debate" account in Pravda and Radio Moscow gave 62 sentences to Khrushchev's remarks and 11 to Nixon, suppressing totally the Vice President's points and derogating his stand.

4. The Vice President's TV address was carried only on the Moscow "third program," which has a relatively limited broadcast range and audience (it is normally used only for music). Thorough checking indicates that the speech was not relayed or retransmitted by any other Moscow or regional domestic radio or TV station. Moreover, the only advance notice of the speech, carried only one hour prior to the address, misleadingly said it would be carried on the "second program" channel, which at the scheduled time broadcast only music, with no explanation.

5. Soviet regional broadcasts not only failed to carry any major statements, but only two -- Kiev and Yerevan -- devoted more than cursory attention to the Vice President's whole trip. Of 43 major regional radios monitored by one of our stations, only eight were heard to broadcast any references to the Nixon tour.

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6. Moscow reacted in a predictable way to the Vice President's Polish trip -- broadcasts to all audiences gave little more than the barest news on arrival and departure, and no comment on popular reactions or the importance of the visit.

7. As a postscript, it may be noted that Soviet media have continued intermittent criticism and attempted rebuttal of some of the Vice President's arguments since his return. It should also be borne in mind that the Soviet press and radio accompanied the visit of the Vice President and the showing of our Exhibition in Sokolniki Park with a running drumfire of criticism of American life, attempting to discredit the image of America presented by both.

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SPECIAL MEMORANDUM

SOVIET RADIO AND PRESS COVERAGE
OF VICE PRESIDENT NIXON'S TRIP TO THE USSR

4 September 1959

[redacted]

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SOVIET RADIO AND PRESS COVERAGE OF VICE PRESIDENT NIXON'S TRIP TO THE USSR

1. The Over-all Propaganda Pattern 1

Moscow's propaganda approach mingled approval of the Vice President's visit with sharp censure of specific U.S. policies and statements by Nixon.

2. Major Points of Criticism 1

Captive Nations Week and U.S. military bases abroad were the chief targets of criticism. Rebuttals to certain statements by Nixon have persisted intermittently in propaganda through August.

3. Extent of Radio Coverage 3

Radio Moscow provided fairly thorough coverage of the Vice President's activities, though not of all his public statements. Soviet regional broadcasts paid very little attention to the visit.

4. Extent of Press Coverage 4

PRAVDA and IZVESTIA each gave Nixon's visit about half as many column inches of wordage as the New York TIMES gave Mikoyan's U.S. visit, but only slightly fewer than the TIMES gave Kozlov's. Soviet regional papers devoted at best one-tenth as much space to Nixon's visit as Detroit and St. Louis papers devoted to Mikoyan's.

5. Radio and Press Coverage of Nixon's Public Statements 6

(A list of Nixon's principal public statements, with details of Soviet radio and press handling.)

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SOVIET RADIO AND PRESS COVERAGE OF VICE PRESIDENT NIXON'S TRIP TO THE USSR

1. The Over-all Propaganda Pattern

Moscow's over-all propaganda approach to the Vice President's USSR visit and the Sokolniki exhibition mingled guarded approval of the general purposes of such exchanges with sharp censure of specific aspects of the U.S. attitude. Critical and sometimes carping remarks about the Vice President's statements and about U.S. policies were interjected into propaganda for domestic and foreign audiences alike. Radio Moscow did, however, seem anxious to present a somewhat more objective account of Nixon's activities to North American than to other audiences.

Moscow's treatment of Nixon differed from its treatment of prior Western visitors in one notable respect--a difference traceable to the Vice President's own frank approach as well as to Khrushchev's readiness to engage in open debate. Soviet comment and reportage are normally studiously cordial to visitors, avoiding personal criticisms of the visitor and deemphasizing areas of discord between the visitor's country and the USSR. In Nixon's case, however, only about half of Moscow's propaganda could be classified as favorable or neutral toward the Vice President. The other half consisted of rebuttals to his arguments in behalf of U.S. policy and criticisms of certain of his activities.

2. Major Points of Criticism

The coincidence of Captive Nations Week with Nixon's visit was clearly the principal point of irritation. The moderate number of full commentaries devoted to the issue by Radio Moscow were not especially bitter, but the issue was brought up repeatedly in reports of Nixon's activities, in propaganda on the U.S. exhibition, and in speeches by Khrushchev. The general tone was one of amazement and regret that such a "cold war" development should coincide with efforts to improve relations. Peking and East European radios were more openly bitter than Moscow about this "vicious slander."

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The continued presence of U.S. bases abroad was the second most frequently mentioned issue. The test ban problem, in keeping with Moscow's relative silence on this subject in recent weeks, was less often mentioned. During Nixon's stay both in Moscow and in the provinces, broadcasts repeatedly reported "awkward" questions asked Nixon by Soviet workers on the issues of Captive Nations Week and U.S. military bases.

The Vice President was the target of a more personal attack for his alleged attempt to give "alms" of 100 rubles to a Soviet worker. The worker's letter to TRUD protesting this "rude and unforgivable" act was reported fully to Radio Moscow's home and foreign audiences on 25 July. Nixon's denial of the Soviet version of the incident, in his TV speech to the Soviet people, drew a prompt counterdenial from Radio Moscow's home service, in the form of an interview with the allegedly insulted worker on 2 August.

Detailed rebuttal to Nixon's speech at the U.S. exhibition came in the form of letters to the editor published by PRAVDA and IZVESTIA and broadcast in the Soviet home service. Letters from "ordinary workers" took issue primarily with Nixon's statements about U.S. prosperity, arguing that he "simply concealed contradictions in capitalist society." Other letters objected to the statement that "nobody in the world" knows better than President Eisenhower what war is. Additional letters to nearly all the Soviet central newspapers from visitors to the U.S. exhibition rebutted statements about U.S. prosperity, although without specific reference to Nixon.

Prompt home service reaction to Nixon's TV speech rebutted his arguments on the issue of U.S. military bases abroad as well as his denial that he had offered "alms" to the market worker. Press comment, in IZVESTIA on 4 August, concentrated on the issue of military bases, professing disappointment that Nixon did not discuss their abolition but tried to justify their existence. A lengthy home service talk on 6 August endeavored to rebut in detail Nixon's references to U.S. disarmament initiatives, especially in regard to nuclear weapons.

Radio Moscow's foreign-language comment--principally a talk by Viktorov broadcast widely on 2 and 3 August--acknowledged that the TV speech contained "many good words and interesting ideas."

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But the commentator went on to criticize in standard terminology Nixon's defense of U.S. bases, his "failure to explain" the proclamation of Captive Nations Week, and his alleged effort to "distort" the history of Soviet foreign policy.

Intermittent criticism of certain of Nixon's arguments has continued since his departure. On 14 and 18 August RED STAR articles that returned to Nixon's TV speech were broadcast in the home service. The first routinely scored the Vice President's defense of U.S. bases abroad. The second provided the first detailed response to Nixon's statement that the United States gained no territory as a result of the two world wars. In his widely publicized speech at Veshenskaya on 30 August Khrushchev said that Nixon had expressed "sober views" in Moscow, that he nonetheless continued to "err" in his understanding of the Soviet Union, and that in his American Legion speech he even reverted to "the typical language of McCarthyite reactionaries."

3. Extent of Radio Coverage

Radio Moscow reported in some detail all of Nixon's travels, visits, and receptions in the USSR--though by no means all his statements--to the Soviet and North American audiences. Less detailed coverage for Moscow's other foreign audiences included at least brief reports on all of his major activities in the USSR. Moscow broadcasts to all audiences, however, provided only minimal publicity for Nixon's trip to Warsaw; succinct news items reported little more than his arrival and departure, without comment.

The total volume of publicity for Nixon's visit to the USSR--in broadcasts to domestic and foreign audiences, taken together--was only half that devoted to British Prime Minister Macmillan's visit in February of this year. Total volume about equaled Moscow's attention to the U.S. visits of Mikoyan and Kozlov. Soviet home service broadcasts, considered separately, gave all three of these prior visits slightly more attention than Nixon's.

Soviet regional broadcasts carried very few references to the trip, with only Kiev and Yerevan devoting more than the most cursory attention to Nixon's activities. Of a total of 43 regional radios monitored at one FBIS station, only Kiev, Yerevan, Baku, and Alma Ata on the republican level, and Lvov, Odessa,

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Rostov, and Kirovograd on the oblast level, were heard broadcasting references to the tour. (This applies, of course, only to locally originated programs; regional radios relay Moscow's home service for certain time-periods daily, and it must be assumed that some of these relays included items regarding Nixon's activities.)

4. Extent of Press Coverage

Coverage of Nixon's trip by PRAVDA and IZVESTIA was fairly extensive and included verbatim texts of some of Nixon's public statements. The trip was clearly not underplayed for readers of these two major newspapers, although a sizeable proportion of the space devoted to it was taken up by rebuttals to Nixon's remarks.

As the following table indicates, total coverage of Nixon's trip in wordage published by PRAVDA and IZVESTIA was for each paper about half the New York TIMES coverage of Mikoyan's U.S. visit but only slightly less than the TIMES' coverage of Kozlov's. The figures represent numbers of column inches* published during the course of the visits**:

	Wordage	Photos, Cartoons, etc.
PRAVDA (Nixon)	505	34
IZVESTIA (Nixon)	665	22
N.Y. TIMES (Mikoyan)	1,204	386
N.Y. TIMES (Kozlov)	767	253

* PRAVDA carries six columns to the normal page, IZVESTIA seven, the TIMES eight; the variation is sufficient to explain much of IZVESTIA's lead over PRAVDA but by no means the TIMES' lead over the Soviet papers in its coverage of the Mikoyan visit.

** Nixon was in the USSR from 23 July to 2 August; Mikoyan was in the United States from 4 to 20 January; Kozlov was in the United States from 28 June to 13 July.

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Additionally, both Soviet papers on 30 July gave front-page space to the full text of Khrushchev's 28 July speech at Dnepropetrovsk, about one-fifth (25 column inches) of which dealt with Nixon's tour.

Front-Page Stories: In regard to stories beginning on the front page, PRAVDA did not compare too unfavorably with the New York TIMES; IZVESTIA came off less well. PRAVDA published 13 front-page stories on Nixon's trip, against IZVESTIA's four. The TIMES published 20 such stories on Mikoyan's visit, 11 on Kozlov's.

Texts of Major Speeches: PRAVDA and IZVESTIA each provided text of three of Nixon's major public statements: his arrival speech, his exhibition speech, his TV speech (IZVESTIA alone) and his farewell speech (PRAVDA alone). The TIMES provided text of two of Mikoyan's major pronouncements, three of Kozlov's. The TIMES, however, published full, near-text accounts of many of the Soviet visitors' statements that it did not completely text. PRAVDA and IZVESTIA tended to summarize scantily and nonobjectively those statements by Nixon that they did not text.

Soviet regional press coverage was meager, in parallel with regional radio coverage. Of a wide selection of regional daily papers examined, none published any verbatim texts or even extensive quotations of Nixon's public statements in Moscow. All, however, published daily information on Nixon's principal activities, in the form of reprints of TASS and, in some cases, AP dispatches, mostly brief and with little or no comment.

There was a striking contrast between the space given Nixon's trip in the Soviet regional press and the space devoted to the Mikoyan and Kozlov visits in the U.S. press outside New York. Soviet regional papers devoted at most one-tenth the space (in wordage and pictorial matter) to Nixon's trip that U.S. papers (in cities of comparable size) gave Mikoyan's. The following table compares the principal dailies in Leningrad and Tashkent with leading papers in Detroit and St. Louis. Figures again represent column inches:

	Printed material	Photos, Cartoons etc.
LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA (Nixon)	101	18
PRAVDA VOSTOKA (Nixon)	43	0
Detroit FREE PRESS (Mikoyan)	861	397
Detroit FREE PRESS (Kozlov)	434	342
St. Louis POST-DISPATCH (Mikoyan)	826	336
St. Louis POST-DISPATCH (Kozlov)	372	86

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Totals were higher for the Detroit NEWS, lower for the Detroit TIMES and St. Louis GLOBE-DEMOCRAT, but the general picture remained the same. The other papers in the two Soviet cities, EVENING LENINGRAD and KIZIL UZBEKISTAN, were not available for examination, but there is no reason to believe that their coverage would have been more expansive than that of the principal papers in Leningrad and Tashkent.

Also subject to comparison is Leningrad's press coverage of Nixon's stay in that city and Detroit's press coverage of the two Soviet leaders' visits to Detroit. LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, the principal Leningrad paper, devoted 49 column inches of printed material and 18 column inches of graphic material to Nixon's visit to Leningrad. Detroit newspapers' coverage of visits of equivalent length by Mikoyan and Kozlov was in every case at least four times as voluminous, even with the graphic material excluded. The Detroit NEWS devoted as many as 502 column inches of printed material and 523 column inches of graphic material to Mikoyan's Detroit stopover.

5. Moscow Radio and Press Coverage of Nixon's Public Statements

Details of the publicity given Nixon's statements and speeches by Moscow's central information media are provided below. (The regional press and radio seem to have carried no verbatim texts or near-texts, except for local publication of Nixon's arrival and departure remarks in the various cities he visited.)

(a) Speech on arrival in Moscow, 23 July: Broadcast in the home service in full Russian translation, along with Kozlov's speech, on the evening of Nixon's arrival; text published in PRAVDA and IZVESTIA.

(b) Debate with Khrushchev at exhibition: PRAVDA's account of Nixon's public discussion with Khrushchev prior to the formal opening of the U.S. exhibition was broadcast textually in the home service and in excerpted or summarized form to nearly all Moscow's foreign audiences. PRAVDA's account gave Khrushchev all the best of the debate: 62 sentences were devoted to Khrushchev's remarks, 11 to Nixon's; the Vice President's debating points were totally suppressed; and Nixon was reported variously as "in a hurried

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retreat," finding a topic "obviously not to /his/ taste," and so forth. No fuller account of the debate has been broadcast by Radio Moscow, although the video tape was carried by Moscow TV on 27 and 28 July, and by Kiev and other regional TV stations on subsequent dates.

(c) Speech at exhibition opening: The home service broadcast "live" the ceremonies of the exhibition opening, including Nixon's speech in English, but no Russian translation was provided. On the morning of 25 July the home service rebroadcast the text of Khrushchev's speech but not Nixon's. The text of Nixon's speech was, however, published in PRAVDA and IZVESTIA.

The text or near-text of Khrushchev's speech was broadcast to Moscow's principal foreign audiences, along with brief summaries of Nixon's address; 14 minutes devoted to Khrushchev's speech, 3 minutes to Nixon's, was the norm. The broadcast summaries of Nixon's speech, as well as the TASS summary presumably published in the bulk of the Soviet press, omitted the sections praising the U.S. way of life and implying criticism of certain Soviet policies.

(d) Conversations with workers: Reportage frequently cited "awkward" queries by workers, especially in regard to Captive Nations Week, the importance of "confirming peaceful words by deeds," U.S. military bases, U.S. restrictions on trade, a nuclear test ban, and the rearming of West Germany. Nixon was usually reported only to have "listened attentively." Almost none of his rejoinders were reported in the home service, and only a few were acknowledged in broadcasts to North America. The home audience was told that he responded on one occasion, "I shall answer at the appropriate time in my speeches," but was not told of his specific references to his forthcoming TV speech.

(e) TV speech of 1 August: The speech was broadcast to the Soviet audience only over the home service's "third program," which has a relatively limited broadcast range and is normally used for music. The broadcast, simultaneous with the telecast, provided full Russian translation. Thorough checking by monitors indicates that the speech was not relayed or retransmitted by any other domestic station, Moscow or regional. One [redacted] station checked a total

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of 41 audible regional transmitters during the course of the speech; none was carrying the speech. The main home service program carried a brief news account of the speech, but not until noon of 2 August.

The size of the home audience for the speech was further held to a minimum by the paucity and partially erroneous nature of advance publicity. The only advance home service announcement, one hour prior to the speech, said it would be carried by Moscow's TV network and the home service's "second program"; but at the scheduled time, the second program broadcast only music, without explanation.

At least three of Radio Moscow's shortwave channels--normally used for foreign-language broadcasts abroad--did carry the speech live and in full Russian translation. A recording of the speech was broadcast in English to North America, and other foreign audiences heard brief one- or two-minute accounts of the speech on the evening of 1 August. The speech was published in full by IZVESTIA. PRAVDA carried only a brief summary.

(f) Press conference: Nixon's final press conference, on 2 August, was reported only in summary form, in a 350-word TASS dispatch that was published in PRAVDA and further reduced by half in home service and foreign-language broadcasts. Nixon's remarks on a possible U.S. invitation to Khrushchev and his praise for the extent of Soviet coverage of his visit were the only fully publicized sections of the press conference.

(g) Farewell speech at airport: TASS and the home service carried the text of Kozlov's speech, but only a brief summary of Nixon's. Radio Moscow's fullest version of Nixon's speech, in English to North America, was still not a complete text. PRAVDA but not IZVESTIA published the text of the speech.

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8 September 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

SUBJECT: Comparison of Soviet Coverage of the Vice President's Visit with US News Coverage of the Mikoyan and Kozlov Visits

1. As a general conclusion, the Soviet authorities evidently combined (a) an unusual degree of coverage in the central Moscow newspapers and radio -- to the minimum extent necessary to avoid arousing adverse world opinion -- with (b) a usual degree of silence and suppression in all other internal media, in order to limit the impact on the Soviet people. The major contrast, should the President wish to raise the matter with Khrushchev, would be noted in the attention given nation-wide to the respective visits of leaders.

2. It should also be borne in mind that the Soviet press and radio accompanied the visit of the Vice President and the showing of our Exhibition in Sokolniki Park with a running drumfire of criticism of American life, attempting to discredit the image of America presented by both.

3. Below is my review of the highlights of the main findings on coverage of [redacted] study prepared following our discussion of 19 August; a copy of the full study is attached. On Saturday I

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learned that the Vice President coincidentally wished to have such a comparison as soon as possible, so I have had a copy sent to him.

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